

Reception of the Biblical and Eastern Antiquity in Early  
Modern records: travellers and pilgrims from Portugal to  
the Holy Land  
(16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries)

Carolina Subtil Pereira  
CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa

**Abstract**

It is well known that ever since ancient times there are records of pilgrimages between Portugal and the Holy Land – this was especially true during the Early Modern Age. Throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, the adventurous spirit of the Early Modern agents and the expansion of the Portuguese power into some Eastern areas resulted in the increase of the journeys and pilgrimages' records written by Portuguese who travelled to Jerusalem. But how did the historical actors of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries perceive the history of the Near East - namely the one of sacred places? And which were the perceptions they had on Biblical Antiquity?

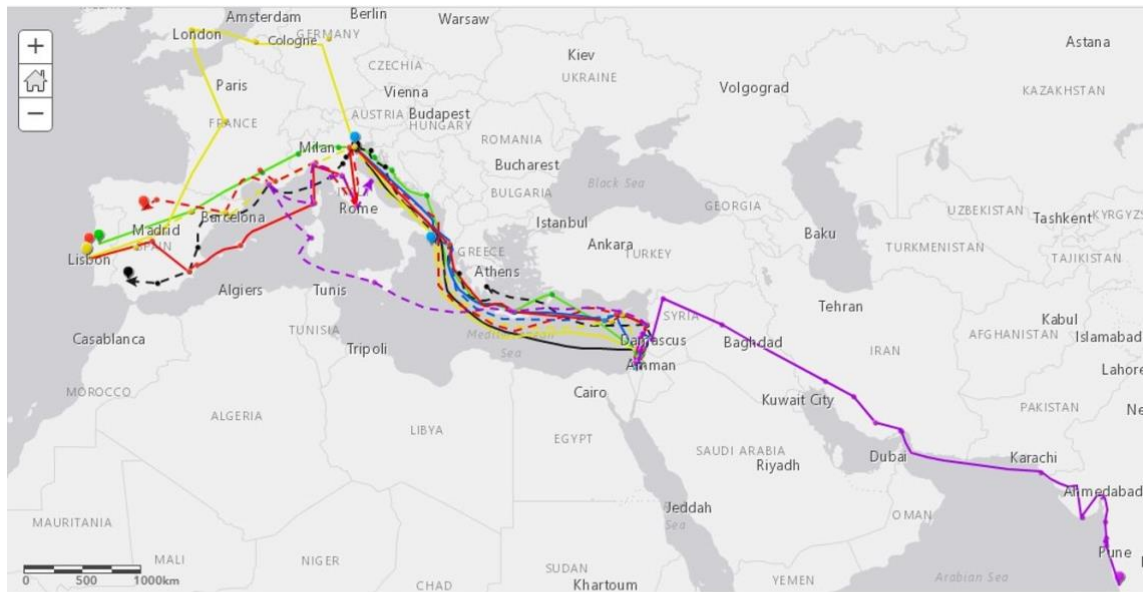
Travel literature regarding the pilgrimages to the Holy Land provides several perspectives concerning these issues. Taking the texts of Jerónimo Calvo, Francisco Guerreiro, António de Lisboa, Pantaleão de Aveiro, D. Álvaro da Costa and António Soares de Albergaria, I intend to analyse some references to the geography and to the biblical characters or episodes of the Old Testament, evaluating the interpretations that these travellers assigned them.

**KeyWords:** Portuguese travellers; 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries; land routes; biblical history; reception of Antiquity

## **The Portuguese travellers in the East**

This paper's content was developed alongside with my master's dissertation in Modern History. In both of them, I take as a basis the writings of six Portuguese travellers and pilgrims that, during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and left written records of their journey: Pantaleão de Aveiro (journey: 1563-1566), António Soares de Albergaria (journey: 1552-1558), Jerónimo Calvo (journey: 1614-1617), António de Lisboa (journey: 1507-1509/1510), Francisco Guerreiro (journey: 1588-1589) and Álvaro da Costa (journey: c.1608). I intend to analyse the perceptions and several visions that these men had from the Ancient Period, especially concerning the religious context. My focus are the religious expressions in the Syro-Palestinian coast, however this research led me to widen my study to other religious realities, as you shall see.

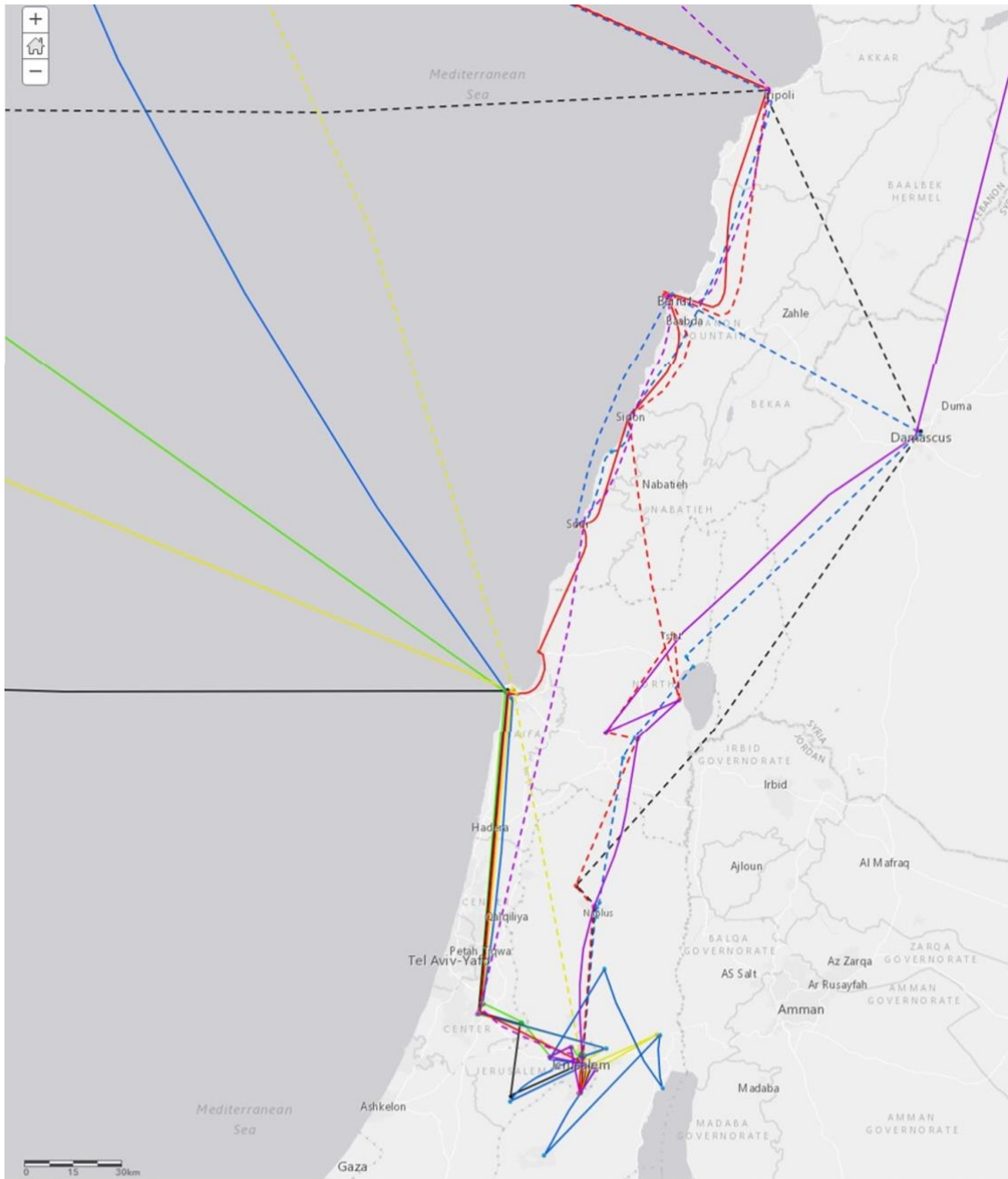
Map I | Itinerary of the Portuguese travellers, between Europe and Asia [author's map]



| LEGENDA                         |  |                        |
|---------------------------------|--|------------------------|
| <b>Francisco Guerreiro</b>      | <b>Frei António de Lisboa</b>            | <b>Jerónimo Calvo</b>  |
| — Viagem de ida                 | — Viagem de ida                          | — Viagem de ida        |
| - - Viagem de volta             |  | - - Viagem de volta    |
| <b>Frei Pantaleão de Aveiro</b> | <b>Frei António Soares de Albergaria</b> | <b>Álvaro da Costa</b> |
| — Viagem de ida                 | — Viagem de ida                          | — Viagem de ida        |
| - - Viagem de volta             | - - Viagem de volta                      | - - Viagem de volta    |

It should be noted that five of these travellers were part of the clergy and had a religious education; nevertheless, the only layman whose written record I analysed, D. Álvaro da Costa, was quite devoted. Therefore, all of these men had a great knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, in which they firmly believed. The manuscript of D. Álvaro da Costa differs from the other five records also because he was the only men who travelled from the East to Jerusalem, since he served the Portuguese State in India and Persian Gulf (see Map I); the other authors departed from Portugal/Europe, aiming to reach Jerusalem.

Map II | Itinerary of the Portuguese travellers, between Europe and Asia (detail) [author's map]



**LEGENDA**

Francisco Guerreiro

- Viagem de ida
- - - Viagem de volta

Frei Pantaleão de Aveiro

- Viagem de ida
- - - Viagem de volta

Frei António de Lisboa

- Viagem de ida

Frei António Soares de Albergaria

- Viagem de ida
- - - Viagem de volta

Jerónimo Calvo

- Viagem de ida
- - - Viagem de volta

Álvaro da Costa

- Viagem de ida
- - - Viagem de volta

In the Syro-Palestinian coast there are clear similarities between the routes of these travellers (see Map II), once in this area all journeys were arranged and led by a guide. Even though the journeys were made decades apart, generally all of these men were shown the same places and told the same stories and local traditions, as evidenced by their texts.

### **The men and the places: references to Antiquity**

The first references that should be highlighted are the ones associated with Adam and Eve and the creation of humanity by God. Pantaleão de Aveiro, António Soares de Albergaria and Jerónimo Calvo present significant information about this issue. By crossing the data prevailing in these three sources, we understand that these testimonials are quite similar and consistent with each other. Moreover, these authors found answers to a prominent question at the time: where did God create humankind?

In general, their writings state that in Hebron, near the place where the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are buried, is *Campo Damasceno*, a field where God took dust to create the first man, Adam, and where the earthly paradise was thought to be located.<sup>1</sup> Thus, this seems to be a widespread information among travellers passing near Hebron.<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that the only information conveyed by the Bible regarding this topic is quite vague: “then the LORD God formed the man of dust from the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and the man became a living creature. And the LORD God planted a garden in Eden, in the east, and there he put the man whom he had formed.” (Gn 2, 7-8).

This citation can also be analysed from the perspective of the connection between God and humans, and the similarity between this passage and some mythological accounts of pre-classical civilizations, which have an identical conception. It ought to be mentioned the *Epic of Gilgamesh* according to which the first man was created from clay: “Aruru washed her hands, pinched off a piece of clay, /cast it out into open country. /She created a [primitive man] (...)”<sup>3</sup>, and also *Enūma Eliš* or *Atrahasis*<sup>4</sup> where the original elements to create humankind are clay and the blood of sacrificed gods. In Genesis, the *blood of the gods* is replaced with the “breath of life” – an idea that also appears in Egyptian representations, since the Old Kingdom period, usually associated with Khnum, the god of fertility, who was believed to have created humanity from clay. This comparison reflects the confluence of visions and notions transmitted among these ancient civilizations.

---

<sup>1</sup> Frei Pantaleão de Aveiro, *Itinerário da Terra Sancta e suas particularidades* (Lisbon: Casa de Simão Lopez, 1593), 170–71; Manuel Vilmaro Costa Pereira, «Itinerário à Casa Santa do padre frey António Soares da Albergaria» (Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2005), 135; Jerónimo Calvo, *Viagem de Terra Santa 1624* (Lisbon - Paris: Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian, 1997), 110.

<sup>2</sup> In fact, Hebron became a centre of interest due to the *Tomb of the Patriarchs*, the traditional site where the patriarchs and their wives are buried, that became a site of pilgrimage for Christians, Muslims and Jews. Since 2017 this city is part of the UNESCO World Heritage Site list.

<sup>3</sup> Stephanie Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia - Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh and others*, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 52–53.

<sup>4</sup> Regarding these two texts see also Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia - Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh and others*.

As we can see, the Bible refers nothing about an exact place, or even a region, where the creation of humankind took place; instead, it is used an unclear expression, “the East”. Therefore, it is possible that these notions conveyed by the Portuguese travellers were appropriations made from traditions of local people. Some authors even considered the possibility that these stories had the specific purpose of ennobling the characteristics of the land.<sup>5</sup> It is important to remark that sometimes these travellers were unsure about the accuracy of some information that they provided in their writings, since it is not stated in the Bible, and they had no irrefutable proof that the events happened the way they described.

On the other hand, through these references, it can also be discussed the location of the earthly paradise – an important question during Ancient times that prompted several (re)searches throughout the Medieval and Early Modern Ages. Over the centuries, cartography depicted the earthly paradise in different places, generally locating it apart from the inhabited land. The European navigations allowed for a greater knowledge of the globe, which led to the transition between the demand for a terrestrial paradise, and the belief in an idyllic and spiritual paradise in heaven, from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries onwards. Thus, it was claimed that paradise had once existed on earth until it was destroyed by the Flood. Thereby, the conjectures about the initial location of the terrestrial paradise did not disappear: some religious authorities believed that it could be located in Armenia, others in Mesopotamia, and others in Palestine.<sup>6</sup>

Michele Servet and Eugène Roger<sup>7</sup> were the first to present the theory that paradise would have been located in the Holy Land, an idea quite similar to the ones of Portuguese travellers, since all of them admitted the possibility that paradise had been located in the Syro-Palestinian coast.

---

<sup>5</sup> For a detailed discussion about this topic see Pedro Marques, «Tradições locais e recepção bíblica na Literatura Portuguesa de viagens do século XVI», *CADMO. Revista do Instituto Oriental da Universidade de Lisboa*, n. 23 (2013): 67.

<sup>6</sup> About these issues see Jean Delumeau, *Uma história de paraíso: o jardim das delícias* (Lisbon: Terramar, 1994), 195–211; Umberto Eco, *História das Terras e dos Lugares Lendários* (Lisbon: Gradiva, 2015), 159–60.

<sup>7</sup> Michel Servet (1511 – 1553) was a Spanish theologian, physician, cartographer, and Renaissance humanist, who was versed in many sciences, including the scholarly study of the Bible in its original languages. Eugène Roger was a French Franciscan friar who travelled to Jerusalem and resided there in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and wrote “La terre sainte, ou description topographique tres-particuliere des saints Lieux, & de la terre de Promission (...)”. “[Eugène Roger] cited the old Jewish tradition that Adam and Eve had lived in the Holy Land after their expulsion. The earthly paradise had been destroyed by the Flood, he said, but it was believed that Noah had given the Holy Land to Shem as the noblest part of the earth. It was the land promised to the patriarchs because it was the most desirable. (...) Christ had shed his blood on Calvary, “which is the place where our first parents disobeyed God, since it is said that the redemption should occur in the place where the sin had been committed.” “This makes me believe,” he concluded, “that Paradise was in the Holy Land” in Joseph Ellis Duncan, *Milton’s earthly paradise: a historical study of Eden* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1972), 211.

Alongside Adam and Eve, Noah is another character of great relevance in the Christian imagery. According to the Holy Scriptures, he was responsible for the preservation of human and animal life on Earth during the Flood, with the construction of an Ark where, at God's command, he sheltered his family and the animal species (Gn 6-9).

Noah's character, as well as the diluvian episode, may raise some questions related to other traditions: the Mesopotamian region is particularly rich in narratives that resemble the biblical Flood. Ziusudra is the equivalent character of Noah in the Sumerian literary tradition; in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, the survivor of the Flood is Utnapishtim; and the Akkadian epic *Atrahasis* is named after the hero who survived this catastrophe. Also, Berossus<sup>8</sup> presented a narrative of the Flood, which certainly derives from the Sumerian version, since the hero of the episode is designated as Xisuthros. In the Mesopotamian region, as in the Nilotic region, floods were seen as a natural and recurring event, at certain times of the year. Although they did not reach a devastating scale, nor would they jeopardize the cultural continuity of civilization, it is plausible that this phenomenon gave rise to narratives about great destructive floods, that tried to explain why they occurred. There are yet other traditions that mention a flood: within Greek mythology, we find the story of Deucalion, son of Prometheus, who survived the flood in an ark and, after nine days and nine nights, landed on Mount Parnassus.<sup>9</sup> And in the Indian world, the tale is associated with the figure of Manu, who survived the flood on a large ship sent to him by Vishnu, one of the leading Hindu gods.<sup>10</sup>

Some of these traditions understand the flood as a phenomenon used to limit the populational growth (as in *Atrahasis*), others understand it as a way to punish humanity for its malice and disobedience (as in the case of Genesis, and in the Greek mythology), others understand this tale as belonging to a series of cycles that formed the world (as in the Hindu conception). We agree with Stephanie Dalley that these diluvian stories can be derived from a tradition that arose in Mesopotamia, which was retold for more than two thousand years along the great Asian caravan routes, and along which it was also translated and adapted, according to the conditions and beliefs of each context.<sup>11</sup> This led to numerous versions (more or less) agreeable with each other, whose common features are a man, an ark/ship, and the divine will as a crucial element in his survival. Since the early times of Christianity, this episode has been interpreted by theologians and religious, namely Tertullian and St. Jerome (authors who were still widely quoted in Early Modern times), who typified Noah's Ark as the Church<sup>12</sup>: just like the Ark was the only form of salvation of humankind during the Flood, the Church is the only form for the salvation of the human soul,

---

<sup>8</sup> Priest and Chaldean writer (4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century BC), who wrote, in Greek language, "History of Babylon" comprised in three volumes. Though this work was lost, it survived until present days through secondary sources and quotes from other Classical authors.

<sup>9</sup> Maria Lamas, *Mitologia Geral. O mundo dos deuses e dos heróis.*, vol. III (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1972), 122–26.

<sup>10</sup> Maria Lamas, *Mitologia Geral. O mundo dos deuses e dos heróis.*, vol. VI (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1973), 84–86.

<sup>11</sup> Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia - Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh and others*, 7.

<sup>12</sup> F. L. Cross e Elizabeth A. Livingstone, eds., «Ark», em *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

that is for it to achieve full eternity. This was a point of view shared by the Portuguese travellers still in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries: António Soares de Albergaria admits that “in Noah's sacrifice, the lamb was meant to take away the sins of the world”<sup>13</sup>, an interpretation that recognises God's mercy as the saviour force of the humankind, as well as the salvific character of the Christian religion.

The last character that I want to analyse is Jonah, who experiences a curious episode. God commanded Jonah to go preach to Nineveh, so that he would warn the inhabitants of this city that God had knowledge of their wickedness. However, Jonah left by boat for Tarshish, fleeing from God's orders. Immediately, God sent a storm to stop him. “And the LORD appointed a great fish to swallow up Jonah. And Jonah was in the belly of the fish three days and three nights.” (Jn 1,17). When Jonah repented, the fish threw him up on dry land and he finally went to preach to Nineveh, which was apparently converted quickly and easily.

At first sight, this episode seems to have fabulous or legendary outlines. Firstly, because Jonah is swallowed by a fish, and vomited after three days, with no apparent physical consequences. Secondly, Jonah, a single man and a foreigner, managed to bring a city to regret without much effort.

Already in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, some authors questioned this episode, contesting its veracity.<sup>14</sup> Others, like H. Clay Trumbull, believed in the historicity of this book and sought to demonstrate it. Nowadays, several authors consider this book as a satire, taking into account the dynamics between Jonah, a disobedient prophet, and a merciful God who apparently uses humorous artifices in his relationship with Jonah.<sup>15</sup> The truth is that the Book of Jonah, though placed in the category of the Prophetic Books of the Bible, is quite different from the other texts in this group. The rest of the prophetic books usually express a prophecy about something that will happen in the future, whereas the Book of Jonah is an account/narrative of what had happened to the prophet. Moreover, this Book seems to conflict with Isaiah's account: according to Isaiah, God would destroy Assyria (Is 30,30-33) and in Jonah's book, with the repentance of Nineveh, God adopts a merciful attitude and forgives the Ninevites, rejecting the destruction of the city (Jn 3,10).

---

<sup>13</sup> Free translation: “no sacrificio de Noe foi ho cordeiro significado que avia d'tirar os peccados do mundo”, in Pereira, «Itinerário à Casa Santa do padre frey António Soares da Albergaria», 113.

<sup>14</sup> See, for example: E. B. Pusey, *The Minor Prophets: With a Commentary Explanatory and Practical and Introductions to the Several Books* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1885), 371–427; C.E. Stowe, «The Prophet Jonah», *Bibliotheca Sacra* 10, n. 39 (1853): 739–64; C. H. H. Wright, *Biblical Essays: or, exegetical studies on the books of Job and Jonah, Ezekiel's prophecy of Gog and Magog, St. Peter's «Spirits in prison,» and the key to the Apocalypse* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1886), 34–98.

<sup>15</sup> «Jonah, Book of», em *Dictionary of Biblical Imagery* (Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1998), 1560–61; Hyun Chul Paul Kim, «Jonah Read Intertextually», *Journal of Biblical Literature* 126, n. 3 (2007); John A. Miles, «Laughing at the Bible: Jonah as Parody», *The Jewish Quarterly Review New Series* 65, n. 3 (January, 1975).

The region of Assyria and the Syro-Palestinian coast had deep commercial and political contacts, throughout time. Moreover, their inhabitants shared a cultural matrix, the Semitic one, which can explain the allusions to both regions (Nineveh and Japha) in this narrative.

Considering now the figure of the “great fish” that swallowed Jonah, in the Old Testament, the fish does not have the inherent meaning attributed to it in Christianity, where it is considered, both in literary and artistic representations, as a symbol of Christ.<sup>16</sup> So, what was the primary significance of the fish, and why its prominence in this episode? In 1892, H. Clay Trumbull wrongly stated that in Assyria there was a highly worshiped god-fish, Dagan, whose representations were found on several cylinder seals at the entrance of the Palace and Temple of Nineveh.<sup>17</sup> The author based himself on the writings of Berossus about Oannes, a half-man/half-fish character who, from time to time, coming from the sea, would appear to humans, in order to give instructions to humankind, and who have been responsible for the beginning of civilization in Chaldea and Babylon.<sup>18</sup> Trumbull then argued that there was a reason why Jonah was swallowed and vomited by a fish: it was a device supposedly used by God to easily carry his message to Nineveh, by using the religious beliefs of that region.<sup>19</sup> Today, this interpretation is outdated. It is interesting, however, the perspective the author follows, which combine the two religious systems.

We tend to see this episode from a different perspective: given the confluence between the two religions and cultures mentioned above, it is plausible to interpret this episode as a narrative that was created on the Syro-Palestinian coast (hence the identification of Japha), and which aimed to justify the influence that the image of the “fish-man” (an *apkallu*) had in the Mesopotamian context. Consequently, we can also consider the chronologies: the figure of the *apkallu* represented with a fish garb is known from the Kassite Period onwards (1595 BC-1155 BC), and was maintained during the first millennium BC, within the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian iconography, until the Seleucid period (312 BC-63 BC). On the other hand, it is thought that the Book of Jonah, which was likely written in 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, in the post-exile period<sup>20</sup>, precedes the narrative of Berossus who recounted this narrative in the 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC. This fact is interesting, given it makes it possible for Berossus to have known the story of Jonah, thus suggesting a crossing of the two traditions in the same narrative.

---

<sup>16</sup> See F. L. Cross e Elizabeth A. Livingstone, eds., «Fish», em *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

<sup>17</sup> Currently, it is known that the representations found in Nineveh, and to which Trumbull referred, were not representations of the god Dagan, the god of fertility. They are, in fact, representations of *apkallu* sages, associated to the god of wisdom, Enki. These creatures appear depicted anthropomorphically wearing a fish garb. See Jeremy A. Black, Anthony Green, and Tessa Rickards, "Dagan" in *Gods, demons, and symbols of ancient Mesopotamia: an illustrated dictionary* (London: Published by British Museum Press for the Trustees of the British Museum, 1992).

<sup>18</sup> H. Clay Trumbull, «Jonah in Nineveh», *Journal of Biblical Literature* 1, n. 11 (1892): 55–56.

<sup>19</sup> Trumbull, 57.

<sup>20</sup> George M. Landes, «Linguistic criteria and the date of the Book of Jonah», *Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies* 16 (1982): 147–70.

Finally, it should be noted that in modern Iraq, namely in Mosul (where the archaeological site of Nineveh is located), there is a mosque, built in the 13<sup>th</sup> century and dedicated to the prophet Jonah, because is believed to be his burial place<sup>21</sup>, and thus suggesting a certain degree of agreement between the local and the biblical tradition.

---

<sup>21</sup> The mosque dedicated to Jonah was looted, bombed and destroyed in 2014 by the self-proclaimed Islamic State, and is currently in ruins.

## **Conclusion**

The first question to consider when making an analytical approach such as the one presented in this paper, is that the majority of Early Modern authors interpreted the Bible as the most important document, since it had been written by God's will. Hence, the authority of those texts was not questioned or contested. Accordingly, everything that went against the contents and teachings of the Bible was false, and what is not expressed in it was comprehended according to one's sensitivity.

On the other hand, there is a clear association between the references to characters, cities and/or places frequently linked with Biblical Antiquity, which may point to a direction of an extra-biblical Eastern Antiquity. Naturally, Portuguese travellers did not have a vast knowledge of other religious traditions as they did of the biblical ones. The connections that these travellers established between different religious systems were limited to the allusions and references made in the Sacred Texts about those regions where these "foreigner" faiths were practiced. Furthermore, the historical agents of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries were so imbued with their Christian spirit that to perceive those nuances and similarities between religions was by no means their priority.

Above all, it is clear that the links between the religions of the Near Eastern area, whether monotheistic or polytheistic, have in common characters, heroes and even ideas. It is well known how these civilizations were in confluence through commercial, political and cultural exchanges, plus population movements and, therefore, their beliefs were not crystalized, but would evolve as new ideas, insights or perspectives which were, at same point conveyed and transformed in order to adapt to other mental realities.

## References

- Achtemeier, Paul J., and Society of Biblical Literature, eds. *The HarperCollins Bible Dictionary*. San Francisco: HarperCollinsPublishers, 1996.
- Aveiro, Frei Pantaleão de. *Itinerário da Terra Sancta e suas particularidades*. Lisbon: Casa de Simão Lopez, 1593.
- Black, Jeremy A., Anthony Green, and Tessa Rickards. *Gods, demons, and symbols of ancient Mesopotamia: an illustrated dictionary*. London: Published by British Museum Press for the Trustees of the British Museum, 1992.
- Calvo, Jerónimo. *Viagem de Terra Santa 1624*. Lisbon - Paris: Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian, 1997.
- Cross, F. L., and Elizabeth A. Livingstone, eds. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Dalley, Stephanie. *Myths from Mesopotamia - Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh and others*. Oxford World's Classics. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Delumeau, Jean. *Uma história de paraíso: o jardim das delícias*. Lisbon: Terramar, 1994.
- Duncan, Joseph Ellis. *Milton's earthly paradise: a historical study of Eden*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1972.
- Eco, Umberto. *História das Terras e dos Lugares Lendários*. Lisbon: Gradiva, 2015.
- ESV: study Bible (English standard version)*. III. Wheaton: Crossway Bibles, 2007.
- Ryken, Leland, Jim Wilhoit, and Tremper Longman, eds. *Dictionary of Biblical Imagery*. Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1998.
- Kim, Hyun Chul Paul. «Jonah Read Intertextually». *Journal of Biblical Literature* 126, n. 3 (2007).
- Landes, George M. «Linguistic criteria and the date of the Book of Jonah». *Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies* 16 (1982): 147–70.
- Maria Lamas. *Mitologia Geral. O mundo dos deuses e dos heróis*. Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1972.
- Marques, Pedro. «Tradições locais e recepção bíblica na Literatura Portuguesa de viagens do século XVI». *CADMO. Revista do Instituto Oriental da Universidade de Lisboa*, n. 23 (2013): 65–73.
- Miles, John A. «Laughing at the Bible: Jonah as Parody». *The Jewish Quarterly Review New Series* 65, n. 3 (January, 1975).
- Pereira, Manuel Vílmaro Costa. «Itinerário à Casa Santa do padre frey António Soares da Albergaria». Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2005.
- Pusey, E. B. *The Minor Prophets: With a Commentary Explanatory and Practical and Introductions to the Several Books*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1885.
- Stowe, C.E. «The Prophet Jonah». *Bibliotheca Sacra* 10, n. 39 (1853): 739–64.
- Trumbull, H. Clay. «Jonah in Nineveh». *Journal of Biblical Literature* 1, n. 11 (1892): 53–60.
- Wright, C. H. H. *Biblical Essays: or, exegetical studies on the books of Job and Jonah, Ezekiel's prophecy of Gog and Magog, St. Peter's «Spirits in prison» and the key to the Apocalypse*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1886.